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the Father and Friend of them all alike. This is the supreme practical lesson of the Day of Prayer for the cessation of war in Europe.

The widespread comment in the European papers over the President's proclamation of a day of prayer for peace among the warring nations induced the Secretary of State to send the following message to the American ambassadors in the capitals of those countries, expressing the general and sincere response of the people of this country to the President's appeal:

"In obedience to the proclamation of the President, the people of the United States assembled at their places of worship October 4 and joined in prayer for the restoration of peace in Europe. The attendance was very large, and there was everywhere a spirit of earnestness. Care was taken that nothing should be said of a non-neutral nature, the trend of the speeches being that God might so direct those in authority in the belligerent nations as to hasten the restoration of peace, and that the American people might be wisely guided in the exercise of such influence as they might be able to exert."

### “Adequate Armaments.”

One of the most persistent curses of humanity is the pernicious activity of plausible phrases which, like "charity," cover a multitude of sins. "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" was the bitter conclusion of a sage disgusted by the vices which masquerade under that venerated name. Even the sacred name of "religion" has been so abused as to cause the greatest of poets to ask:

"In religion,  
What damned error, but some sober brow  
Will bless it and approve it with a text?"

And now the world is given the spectacle of the most frightful war in history, waged in the name of "self-defense" and the "preservation of culture;" while thousands upon thousands of men, made in God's own image, are being dismissed to the grave as mere "food for powder," the most revered of artistic monuments erected by toiling generations to the glory of God are sacrificed in a single insane hour to the Moloch of "military necessity," and the most solemn of leagues and covenants are torn into shreds as mere "scraps of paper."

The men who have made Germany mad, like Von Treitschke and Bernhardi, have aroused the *furor teutonicus* by urging the plausible argument of "adequate armaments." The Fatherland is in danger, has been their strident cry; the Russian Bear in the East, the new Slavic peril in the South, the old Gallic menace in the West, the British Lion of the North Sea, the Yellow peril of the Orient, the Brown men of India, and the

Black Men of Africa must be guarded against by "adequate armaments." We must have a navy to compete with Britain's; our standing army of a half million is not "adequate"; we must increase it to 850,000, and make every male potentiality for fighting liable to conscription between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five. Our "war chests" must be filled to overflowing with good red gold, and every manufacturing, agricultural, transportation, and financial facility of our land must be made tributary, together with good red blood, the best of human bone and sinew and intellect, to "adequate armaments."

Some of us, like the Bernhardis, declare that this struggle is in itself the noblest of human endeavors, and that "adequate armaments" are the noblest of human achievements. The rest of us avow that preparation for war on this titanic scale is amply justified as the surest way of maintaining the peace with our strangely suspicious neighbors. Our neighbors catch this feverish love for maintaining the peace, and Britain multiplies her navy by three, Russia doubles her army, and so on *ad nauseandum*, but in the inverse ratio to insuring the maintenance or even the hope of peace.

The baleful poison of this philosophy of folly and fear is carried across the oceans and injected into the blood of our own people. Side by side with its efforts to organize genuine peace there is in our country a desperate and determined struggle to maintain "armed peace" by means of "adequate armaments," and the lessons of the present war are being distorted into an argument in advocacy of the big, and bigger, and biggest stick.

How "big" must our stick be? How large are "adequate" armaments? To this question from the man in the street, who has to foot the bill, the bellumist replies: What an absurd and unpatriotic question! We do not know, of course, and cannot know precisely what we are trying to "equal" in our frantic pursuit of "adequacy," for the sufficiency of numbers and the efficiency of fighters is as uncertain and incalculable as the shifting sands of the sea. How can we ever know definitely what are "adequate armaments," when projectiles irresistible this morning and defenses invincible at noon will probably be antiquated before the sunset of today or the dawn of tomorrow? But this we do know: we can never have "too much of a good thing." Our army and navy and air fleet must be rolled up larger and ever larger until, if "adequacy" require it, every ounce of toiling muscle, every fruit of human industry, and every gift of the harnessed forces of mother nature are rolled up in them.

Then "adequate" for *what* or *whom* shall our armaments be? Let me know this, at least, begs the tax-paying man in the street. Now there, replies the bellumist, I can furnish food for your sentiment, imagination, and fears, even though I may not satisfy your

reason. Armaments must be adequate, in the first place, to prevent the dire necessity that "I and my four sons" should be forced to the front through the supine neglect of traitorous pacifists to provide "adequate armaments;";\* they must be adequate to meet the emergency of Europe crossing the Atlantic to attack the Monroe Doctrine in Latin America, or of Japan and the Yellow peril causing the sun of our national greatness to set in the Pacific; of perfidious Albion striking at our hearts through Canada, or of Germany causing our twenty millions of German-Americans to hurry us headlong into a civil armageddon! Adequate for what or whom? Why, for *anything* or *anyone*, for *everything* and *all the world!* Who but the pusillanimous or the treasonable would measure words or seek for definiteness when Old Glory is at stake?

In sad and sober earnest, the peaceful character and the peaceful future of our beloved country are involved in the present crisis of world history. The Roosevelts and Mahans; the Bernhardis and von Treitschkes of America are overworking their opportunity to convince us that the best and only way to preserve our peace is to prepare for war—to build up "adequate armaments." They are emphasizing, as the twofold lesson taught America by the present war, that "peace treaties, arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, Hague treaties, and the like," are indeed but scraps of paper, and that "Uncle Sam's own stout heart and ready hand"—that is to say, "adequate armaments"—alone can defend our country's "vital interest and honor." They are pointing to Belgium's plight as the result of relying on a treaty; but they ignore the vital fact that this treaty was guaranteed by only three nations instead of by forty-four, as would be the case at The Hague; they evade, as the cause of Belgium's broken treaty, Germany's "adequate armaments," and say naught of the proved inadequacy of Belgium's supposedly "adequate" armaments for defense. They contrast Luxembourg's "unpreparedness" with the "impregnable" fortresses of France, but fail to include the "irresistible" artillery of the Krupps as a feature of "adequate armaments." They hint ominously at England's fate in the absence of her "adequate navy," but gloss over Germany's attempt to secure an "adequate navy" as the fundamental cause of England's participation in the war and of England's chief alarm, now that the war has begun. They despise the Hague conventions as preservers of the peace and as mitigators of the horrors of the war; but they ignore the significant fact that all the participants in the war are moving heaven and earth to convince the world that *they* are living up to the standard erected at The Hague, and that their opponents should be eternally damned for disregarding it.

Throughout their clamorous argument, our American advocates of "adequate armaments" shut their eyes and ears and teeth to the insistent fact that the prime and sole sufficient cause of the present world-wide war is Europe's pursuit during the last half century of that will-o'-the-wisp—"adequate armaments"—and of the illusory "peace" based upon them. Ever since Bismarck began in deadly earnest the era of blood and iron, and put in serious practice the "barrack philosophy of peace," Europe has been bending every effort to preserve "the peace" by piling up "adequate armaments," with the inevitable result that twentieth century "Christian" men, aided by all the devices of twentieth century "civilization," are engaged in a combat which would make the beasts of the jungle green with envy and the fiends of Satan applaud in hellish glee.

Our own country has come definitely to the parting of the ways. Shall it pursue the path of "adequate armaments," which will lead us inevitably, as it has led Europe, into the abyss? or shall it push on upon the path of "adequate justice," which the world entered upon so few years ago at The Hague, and on which it has already found such remarkable gifts of genuine peace and justice? The issue has been definitely drawn between the Temple of Mars and the Palace of Peace. And well it is that this has been done, for the world must know that it cannot serve both God and Mammon; that it cannot follow both Christ and Odin; that it cannot receive the blessing of Jehovah while laying its heart on the altar of Baal.

H.

### Efforts to Convene the International Peace Bureau.

Earnest recommendations that the Commission of the International Peace Bureau at Berne be called to meet at the earliest possible moment have been sent out by Dr. Ludwig Quidde, president of the German Peace Society (who is now at The Hague), and Dr. B. de Jong Van Beek-En Donk, editor of the organ of the Dutch Peace Society. Both men have issued open letters, urging their reasons for at least an attempt to bring together an assembly of the leading pacifists of the different countries to discuss the situation and establish united efforts for peace. It is probably impossible to convene such a meeting at the present moment, because of the difficulties and dangers of travel, etc.; but the earnest efforts of the European peace workers will bring about the desired result in due time.

Dr. Quidde presents several cogent reasons for his request that the Commission of the Peace Bureau be called together, and enumerates certain of the tasks which it should at once undertake. These are:

- (1) The mobilization of public opinion in the neutral countries. The formation of committees represent-

\* Of. an article by Theodore Roosevelt in *The New York Times*, September 27, 1914.